/310 cont./

167 194 72 [484] those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass . . . " /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats didnot take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

167 194 195 129 None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish conquest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

484 175 648 22 262 [127] /311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity . . . they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside [252] is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

/352 cont./

C 252 The fish begins by being opened and cleaned and only then is it boiled or roasted. In this last case it is inserted between the two branches of a switch split for three quarters of its length (Fig. 22). So that the latter does not open completely, the lower part is fastened securely with bands of bark, and so that the fish does not fall out once it is inserted in the interstice, the upper part. Among their ancestors, the Guarani, G [252] such a spit would have been superfluous, because to grill the product of their fishing or hunting they used to construct C [251] [262] buccans. Our Chiriguano also eat fish dried in the sun and enjoy it in this form combined with some corn dish.

/353/

Chapter IV

Cooking

Fire

C 372 177 The modern Chiriguano more and more use matches of Bolivian make, but their poor quality has contributed to maintaining the popularity of the tinderbox. That of the Chiriguano, borrowed recently from the white men, is composed of a flint and a piece of iron with which they make sparks fly, which fall on a little wild cotton (the one which the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) produces). This tow (tata rimbiuna) is kept in a small receptacle made from the end of a cow horn or an armadillo tail. /Figs. 23 and 24 appear here./ It is hermetically sealed by a wooden disk, which a small cord passing inside the capsule and coming out through a hole at the tip of the horn or tail allows to be put back in place with a single motion. This ingenious contrivance is not, however, of Indian invention; I saw it adapted to the tinderboxes of the creoles in the Argentine Republic. Some C [415] [281] Chiriguano make cloth wicks which at first sight would seem to have been produced in one of our factories. The tinderbox with its accessories is carefully kept in small bags of deerskin, wildcat, iguana, etc. (Figs. 23 and 24).

/51 cont./

244 222 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient [114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases [171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi- [177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

• 252 Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for [192] that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí kĩtĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kĩtĩ is added mandió pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiókuéra drains off. The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour- [192] pan /the original text reads forneia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

[171] [192] But the white flour, parí vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kuí morõtĩ (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I [114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use [126] of the grater.

2: Schaden--64 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. [462] If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast [852] the fish on the spot (mokĩ é), where it is consumed. When nearby, [192] they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbüá of Xapecó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /58/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street [262] by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another [192] city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on [432] wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the [114] individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbüá; all advanced on the fruit at once, each one snatching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners [224] of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbüá maintain when [178] they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

2: Schaden--75 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

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VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambaí, spinning caraguatá fiber.

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VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

2: Schaden--116 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4 Kayová

/95 cont./

881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] [829] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Because they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the flanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahêi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjékoaku) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the flanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the flanderú lets them go. It is the flanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./ As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they [304] [262] [752] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings the girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[252] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [864] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence; if she sleeps with a man, the food would [562] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 226 ample, speaking of Cayuá farther down the Paraná than Taquapiri, does not give the impression that we would expect from Métraux's statement about the lack of Cayuá fishing.[46]

In any event, the Cayuá practiced fishing at least to a limited extent and knew the techniques of angling, fish poisoning, weir building, and stream damming. It must remain a question for the time being whether the present poverty of fishing techniques is recent or a matter of long standing. It is *174 likely that fishing was somewhat more important in bygone days.

224 The trapping of animals, while classifiable as a special form of hunting, was in a certain sense a meeting ground of agricultural and hunting practices. Traps, snares, and deadfalls had to be set to keep animal depredations in the planted crops at a minimum. At the same time, of course, the supply of meat *174 acquired in this manner contributed to the Cayuá larder.

222 Gathering practices, largely the responsibility of the women, played a [462] fairly important secondary part in the food economy of the Cayuá. This was primarily due to the fact that a considerable number of fructiferous trees and bushes grow in the region.[47] Among the wild plants widely used for food by the Cayuá are to be found *gwoimbé* (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), *jaboticába* (*Myrciaria cauliflora*), *vacuá* (*Pandanus utilis*, Bory), *gwaBirôBa* (*Mirtacea* [252] family), *gwajuBíra* (?), and *araticá* (*Rollinia exalbida*). The use of the heart [171] of the *pindó* palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) to make flour as well as shoots for roasting is reported; it is also known to have been a characteristic food practice of some of the non-Guarani-speaking peoples, such as the Mbayá-Caduveo.

[273] One modern informant insisted that formerly certain wild fruits were used, at the proper times of the year, to make the all-important *cáuĩ* or *chicha* beer. (Corn, potatoes, or manioc are traditional ingredients.)

The women also gathered yearly a certain large ant, *ysá*, when it left its house about October. Standing near the mouth of the ant houses with their feet in small, prepared water holes so as not to be bitten, they swept large [252] quantities of the insects into vessels. These would later be roasted, principally for the white fat or oil which was stored in the tail segment of each ant and which was highly esteemed for food. Certain grubs, including one called *tambá* (*Calandra palmarum*) were also eaten.

Another aspect of gathering practices was connected with the several varieties of melliferous bees which live in the Cayuá habitat. Locating hives and the systematic gathering of honey were fairly well developed practices [171] among the aboriginal Cayuá. This trait they doubtless shared with the neighboring Guarani as well as with the little known Guayaki of Paraguay, people who have been characterized as having "a honey culture." There was a

[46] Ambrosetti, 1894, pp. 701, 727 ff.

[137] [47] Apparently an even larger number of such fruit-bearing trees, including many of the same varieties, grew in the environment of the more northerly dwelling Tupi-Guarani.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusá* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbarakâ*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain. 178* 302 178* 237 301

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cãuĩ'* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cãuĩ'* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cãuĩ'* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor. 178* 352 415 531 178* 415 [252] [322] [273]

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. Firefans, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers. 177* 178* 285 [462]

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbarakâ* gourd rattles, *takwapá* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen 177* 178* 534

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[159]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[160]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *boliche* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokwé* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puširão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puširão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cāuī'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

[159] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[160] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cāuī'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

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FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

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FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

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FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *tembeta* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Tiquaipiri in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play: The little girls all are clothed.

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/37 cont./
000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.
881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
[431] that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
[346] eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March, the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large communal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
[869] there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they receive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the administration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba*, *A. totai*, *Cocos yatay*, *Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica*, *Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyá (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc. 222

The *Caingué* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[2]) is part of *Caingué* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the larvae in the decayed wood. [231] [262] [231]

Hunting.—Because the *Caingué* prefer meat to any other food, their main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Caingué* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars. 224 [262] [231]

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts. [825]

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast used tucumá fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204). 226 178 [433]

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and many other European farm animals. 231 178

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a heritage of the ancient *Guarani*. The most popular dishes prepared with maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Caingué* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Caingué* specialty. 262 252 [178]

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Caingué* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Caingué* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin grater—and washing the mass in water. 252 [178]

[2] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Strebichev.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Caingué* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] [145] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingué* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paĩ*. Other *Caingué* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. [413] Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Caingué* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 [178] [532] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

208 178 179 797 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.